

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LOME 02421 061948Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 NEA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-05 /085 W
-----118075 061955Z /70

R 061615Z SEP 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2779
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T LOME 2421

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINR PGOV NI TO
SUBJ: AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD NIGERIA--TOGO

REF: STATE 208244

1. THE TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT HAS EXTREMELY CLOSE RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA'S PRESENT LEADERS. FOLLOWING THE OVERTHROW OF GENERAL GOWAN, TOGO TOOK SEVERAL STEPS TO INSURE THAT ITS PREVIOUS FRIENDSHIP WITH GOWAN WOULD NOT BECOME A HINDRANCE IN STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS. THESE EFFORTS RESULTED IN A NUMBER OF DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN PRESIDENTS EYADEMA AND MURTALA AND PERSONAL RAPPORT WAS SOON ESTABLISHED. WHEN MURTALA WAS ASSASSINATED, THE GOVERNMENT OF TOGO HAD NO DIFFICULTY IN CONTINUING GOOD RELATIONS WITH GENERAL OBASANJO. THIS CONTINUITY OF CLOSE RELATIONS AT THE CHIEF OF STATE LEVEL HAS NATURALLY CARRIED OVER TO OTHER ECHELONS. IT IS BASED ON SEVERAL ELEMENTS OF
SECRET

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PAGE 02 LOME 02421 061948Z

MUTUAL ADVANTAGE. THE TOGOLESE SEE IN EVENTUAL REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION A WAY TO OFFSET THE RESTRAINTS OF TOGO'S SMALL SIZE AND MARKET. SUCH A GOAL CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED WITH NIGERIAN SUPPORT. THE NIGERIANS, WITH AMBITIONS FOR CONTINENTAL INFLUENCE, NEED A FRIEND IN THE FRANCOPHONE COURT. THUS, LITTLE TOGO AND GIANT NIGERIA HAVE BEEN ABLE TO COOPERATE SUCCESSFULLY ON A

BASIS OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE IN THE CAMPAIGN TO MAKE ECOWAS A REALITY. THIS CONCRETE COMMON INTEREST IN FOSTERING REGIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION IS REINFORCED BY SHARED, ESSENTIALLY MODERATE, VIEWS ON MANY INTERNATIONAL CONTINENTAL, AND REGIONAL PROBLEMS. MOREOVER, THEY BOTH FIND MARXIST BENIN, WHICH PHYSICALLY SEPARATES THEM AND OCCASIONALLY CLOSES ITS BORDERS, A PAIN IN THE SIDE.

2. SINCE TOGO AND NIGERIA SHARE GENERALLY PARALLEL VIEWS ON MANY AFRICAN ISSUES, TOGO NATURALLY REGARDS NIGERIA'S INCREASINGLY INFLUENTIAL ROLE IN CONTINENTAL POLITICS POSITIVELY. TOGO, HOWEVER, DOES NOT HESITATE TO ACT ON ITS OWN OR STEP OUT IN FRONT OF NIGERIA. THUS, IT BROKE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL BEFORE NIGERIA DID AND PRIOR TO THE MAJORITY OF AFRICAN STATES. IT DID NOT AGREE WITH NIGERIA ON THE PRIORITY TO BE ACCORDED OPPOSITION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN INCURSION INTO ANGOLA IN THE FALL OF 1975. ALTHOUGH SOUTH AFRICA'S MOVE PUSHED NIGERIA TO RECOGNIZE THE MPLA DESPITE MISGIVINGS OVER ITS SOVIET TIES, TOGO TOOK THE OPPOSITE VIEW AND ONLY RECOGNIZED THE MPLA GOVERNMENT AFTER IT HAD CHASED ITS RIVALS FROM THE FIELD. IN GENERAL, TOGO IS LESS INTENSE IN ITS OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AND MINORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND MORE PRONE TO ATTEMPT TO FIND SOLUTIONS THROUGH DIALOGUE. IN SUM, DESPITE A GENERAL SIMILARITY OF VIEWS AND NIGERIA'S SIZE AND PROXIMITY, TOGO WILL NOT AUTOMATICALLY SUPPORT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LOME 02421 061948Z

NIGERIAN POSITIONS IN CONTINENTAL MATTERS.

3. NEVERTHELESS, WHILE TOGO HAS DEFINITE VIEWS OF ITS OWN ON MANY AFRICAN ISSUES, IT IS PRONE TO FOLLOW THE AFRICAN CONSENSUS IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. THIS IS BASICALLY BECAUSE TOGO CONSIDERS ITSELF TOO SMALL TO HAVE ANY INDIVIDUAL IMPACT ON WORLDWIDE ISSUES AND REGARDS MANY OF THEM AS MORE OR LESS IRRELEVANT TO ITS CONCERNS. THUS, ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, NIGERIA INFLUENCES TOGO IN ABOUT THE DEGREE THAT IT INFLUENCES THE AFRICAN CAUCUS AS A WHOLE. TOGO IS CONTENT TO PLAY A PASSIVE ROLE, EXCEPT WHEN IT PERCEIVES ITS INTERESTS DIRECTLY AFFECTED. PALMER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS
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Sent Date: 06-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977LOME02421
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770322-0681
Format: TEL
From: LOME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770995/aaaadcng.tel
Line Count: 106
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 481d784d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 208244
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1379855
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD NIGERIA--TOGO
TAGS: PINR, PGOV, NI, TO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/481d784d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009